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Will War Ever Cease?

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1963
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by

Roger W. Montgomery

PRESENTED BY
THE AUTHOR

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BY

Roger W. Montgomery

"Force and right rule the world; force till right is ready."
JOUBERT.

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DEDICATION:

To my fellow countrymen who fought in the World War, in defense of liberty and civilization, this little book is respectfully dedicated by the author.

NOTE.

The author's special thanks are due to Prof. George T. W. Patrick for kind permission to quote from his valuable book, "The Psychology of Relaxation," published by Houghton, Mifflin Co. R. W. M.

PREFACE.

During the past twenty years great interest has been taken in the matter of war and peace, and thousands of good men and women have discussed the question of whether war can be abolished, and a reign of universal peace ushered in within a short time. For generations, yes for centuries, men have dreamed of peace on earth, but wars and rumors of wars have continued, and within the past six years we have witnessed perhaps the greatest and most costly war that the world has ever seen; a war that has involved nearly all the nations of the earth, and has cost the lives of millions of men, and billions of dollars, and has left in its train so much woe and evil that it seems to have cursed the nations of the earth for years, perhaps for generations to come.

In the face of all this loss and destruction, certainly no sane man can deny the frightful evils of war, and no sincere well-wisher of the human race can avoid the hope that some way may be found to put an end to a system of settling disputes among nations that causes so much misery and loss to all the parties involved therein.

The author of these pages has been sincerely interested for many years in this matter, and has felt that the efforts of many earnest and sincere men and women in various countries to put an end to warfare, should from a moral point of view, at least, be crowned by success. But while he has hoped this, yet he cannot help feeling that vast material forces favor the continuance for a long time to come, of the system of war, and that perhaps many of those who are laboring so earnestly in the cause of peace, do not yet realize as clearly as they might, the nature of the problem that they are trying to solve. At least this is the conclusion that one must reach after reading many of the arguments for the early abolition of war that have been put forth in recent years by scores of well intentioned men and women who have written or lectured on this subject. Though one may not for a moment question the honesty and sincerity of these men and women who are trying to put an end to the awful evils of war, yet one is at times obliged to doubt whether they really understand and properly estimate the nature of the problem that they are dealing with.

However much one may sympathize with the efforts of those who are trying to bring about the end of war, yet one cannot help feeling that much of this effort is mis-

directed, and to a greater or less degree wasted, owing to the lack of a clear study of the remote causes of war, of the history of human development, and of the means by which it is probable that future wars may be avoided. If there is anything that has been clearly proved by human experience, it is that in order to deal with any degree of success with an age-long problem, and in order to overcome evil of any sort, it is first necessary to study and understand it, not from one angle alone, but from many, and especially from the standpoint of natural laws and human experience.

In the following pages it is our desire to point out some of the reasons why many of those who write or lecture on this subject have failed, as we see it, to command the attention of practical reformers and statesmen as fully as they have hoped to do. For one thing is certain, that if an end is ever to be put to the present war system, it must come about, sooner or later, not by the efforts of a few idealists and reformers, *but by the united efforts of millions of men and women in all the nations of the earth!*

Idealists have their place, and the world can ill get on without them; the few may have the vision, but in the long run it must always be by the efforts of *practical men,* backed by the sincere support of thousands or millions of common men and women, that

any great and lasting reform in the conditions of human society must be affected.

Now in the history of the United States we have had in public life, three statesmen who stand out as practical idealists—as men not only of wide and clear vision, but also of absolute honesty of purpose, and of great achievements for humanity. These men are George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. All these have desired peace, all have had to deal with war, and all three have had clear ideas on the subject, and from the writings of all three those who advocate peace today may gain most valuable suggestions, for let us not deceive ourselves, it is to men like Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt, and not to those who have had but little practical experience of public affairs, that we must look for real help in dealing with questions of war and peace. But it is not alone to the statesman or to the historian that the student of war must turn for help in solving his problems; he needs also the assistance of the scientist, and especially of the biologist and the psychologist.

Professor G. T. W. Patrick in his most interesting book, "The Psychology of Relaxation," has in his chapter on "The Psychology of War," made some exceedingly helpful suggestions along this line, and has, we think, shown conclusively that the stu-

dent of this question must in the future, devote more attention to this angle of the matter than he has usually done in the past.

The following quotation from Professor Patrick's essay makes this plain: "The fact is, the causes of war lie much deeper than in any political conditions. They are to be sought in the constitution of the human mind. * * * To understand the psychology of war, it is necessary to go back and trace the actual history of the development of the human being. Here lies the trouble with all our schemes of pacifism and all our Utopias, and all our pleasure and peace economies. They deal with an ideal human being, not with actual men. Sociologists will make futile contributions to human progress except as they keep in close touch with the facts of human evolution and of human history."

In these words Professor Patrick has, as it seems to us, pointed out the chief source of weakness in many of the arguments made by writers against war. Too few of their books and lectures seem to be based on the solid facts of human history, and of human nature, and too often their arguments are built up on a theory or set of theories that will not stand the test of critical examination.

Within the past ten years several large endowments have been given by men of wealth

for the purpose of promoting the cause of peace, and it is to be hoped that in the future a considerable part of the income from these may be used in an impartial and careful study of all the causes of war so far as they can be revealed by research. It has long been the opinion of the present writer that by this method alone can any real progress be made toward the solution in the future of this great problem. To carry out this plan will require a long time, and also the best efforts of men and women who will devote themselves to it with whole-hearted zeal and sound knowledge.

It is reported of Theodore Parker, that in talking with a friend on the anti-slavery question years before the Civil War he said, "The trouble with me is, that I am in a hurry, and that God isn't." It might perhaps be well for some of our modern reformers if they would remember this little saying of the noted anti-slavery leader, and if they would thereby cultivate a greater degree of patience in dealing with their present day problems.

CHAPTER 1.

THE NATURAL LAW OF STRUGGLE

"The law of worthy life is fundamentally the law of strife. It is only through labor and painful effort, by grim energy and resolute courage, that we move on to better things."
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Nature's rule of existence is the stern law of struggle, carried on through every day, of every year, and in every part of the globe. It matters not where we go, whether into the frozen regions of the North, or into the humid heat of the tropics; it matters not whether we choose for our field of observation, the air, the land, or the sea; we shall find there the same grim contest for food and life; a never ceasing contest that begins with the existence of the creature, and ends only when death, and usually a violent death closes the chapter of its earthly career. Not only is this true in the animal kingdom, but the same law holds good in the vegetable kingdom as well. There is not a plant or a tree, whether in a wild state, or set out by the hand of man, that does not have to struggle for its life with various enemies that constantly beset it. Whether it be the potato in the garden, the sweet scented rose, or the evergreen tree far up on the mountain side, it makes no difference, each and every one

of these, either by itself or aided by the hand of man, is engaged in a mortal struggle with its enemies, seen or unseen. How often, as we climb some high mountain, do we see the vegetation on its side change in character, and grow thinner as we go up, until finally we reach a place where a few stunted and gnarled evergreens struggle to maintain their precarious existence, in the face of winter storms which have broken and twisted their branches until it is hard for us to see any resemblance to a tree in the object before us! Multiply this example by millions; think if you can, of this struggle as going on, not in one spot, nor during one year only, but all over the earth, and through uncounted ages, and you will gain perhaps, some idea of what Nature's law of struggle means!

Even at best, we can gain but a feeble idea of the tremendous and bloody struggle through which man has come to his present position in the world. How long it has been going on we can only guess, the most profound thinker can give us no clear idea of how long man has been on this earth, but there are good reasons to believe that it has been thousands, aye, tens of thousands of years since the human animal, naked, hungry and cold, first saw the light of day in some primeval wilderness. All around him were strange and gigantic forms of life, both animal and vegetable; look whichever

way he might, he saw only hostile forms confronting him; the elements raged and beat upon him; he stood alone, with bare hands, in the midst of a thousand brutal and savage enemies, the greater part of whom were certainly in a physical sense, larger and stronger than himself. He found himself in a world where there was but one law of existence, and that the law of claw and tooth; where only the strongest, the swiftest, or the most cunning could hope to survive. To fail in this struggle meant not defeat alone; it meant extermination. But man did not fail, he fought with every means at his command, and though less strong and less swift than most of his enemies, he had the cunning that enabled him to get the better of them.

This strange animal called man could do what no other animal has ever done—he could reason, discover and invent. At first he probably used clubs and stones to defend himself, and when hard pressed, he no doubt took refuge in trees, as there is evidence that he was a skillful climber. Slowly, painfully, man fought his way upward, and the beasts that he killed for food, and whose skins he used to clothe himself were by degrees obliged to fear and respect this newcomer, who could devise ways of killing them from a distance. These being the conditions under which our ancestors had to

live for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, is it any wonder that, as Prof. Patrick says, "Man is a fighting animal; at first from necessity, afterwards from habit."

This being the case, is it reasonable to suppose that habits formed during so many thousands of years, can be changed or done away with in the short space of a few generations, or even of some centuries?

Professor Henry Drummond in his book on "The Ascent of Man," and in the chapter on "The Struggle for Life" has given us a very clear idea of this subject. He shows, as we feel, conclusively, not only *what* the struggle for life was, but *why* it was as well, and to all who wish to look deeper into this matter, we can only say that a careful reading of Prof. Drummond's remarkable book will be richly repaid. A few quotations from his work must suffice us here.

Speaking of the struggle for life, and the price that has been paid for human progress, he says: "We may safely leave Nature here to look after her own ethic. That a price, a price in pain, and assuredly sometimes a very terrible price, has been paid for the evolution of the world, after all is said, is certain. There may be difference of opinion as to the amount of this price, but on one point there can be no dispute—that even at the highest estimate the thing which was bought with it was none too dear. For that

thing was nothing less than the present progress of the world. The Struggle for Life has been a victorious struggle; it has succeeded in its stupendous task; and there is nothing of order or beauty or perfection in living Nature that does not owe something to its having been carried on. The first duty of those who demur to the cost of progress is to make sure that they comprehend, in all its richness the infinity of the gift this sacrifice has purchased for humanity. The end of The Struggle for Life is not battle; it is not even victory, it is evolution. The result is not wounds, it is health."

In these clear and eloquent words Professor Drummond shows us the part which The Struggle for Life has played in human development, and no modern worker in the field of social reform can afford to neglect a most careful consideration of the arguments which he here presents.

For how many thousands of years this struggle has gone on, we know not; probably the time may be reckoned by millions, rather than by thousands. This being the case is it not almost absurd for us to suppose that any process of Nature that has continued for so long and that is justified by such vast and beneficent ends, can be brought to a speedy close by the efforts of a few individuals, in various parts of the world, who in all honesty of purpose have conceived it

to be their mission to put a stop to human conflict?

In closing this part of our subject, let us quote a few more paragraphs from Prof. Drummond's work. "When we pass from the animal and the savage states to watch the working of the Struggle for Life in later times, the impression deepens that after all, the 'gladiatorial theory' of existence has much to say for itself. To trace its progress further is denied us for the present, but observe before we close what it connotes in modern life. Its lineal descendants are two in number, and they have but to be named to show the enormous place this factor has been given to play in the world's destiny. The first is War, the second is Industry.

These in all their forms and ramifications are simply the primitive Struggle continued on the social and political plane. War is not a casual thing like a thunder storm, nor a specific thing like a battle. It is that ancient Struggle for Life carried over from the animal kingdom, which, in the later as in the earlier world, has been so perfect an instrument of evolution. Along with Industry, and for a time before it, War was the foster-mother of civilization. The patron of the heroic virtues, the purifier of societies, the solidifier of states, the military form of this Struggle—despite the awful balance on the other side—stands out on every page

of history as the maker and educator of the human race. Industry is but the same Struggle in another disguise. The industrial conflict of today is the old attempt of primitive Man to get the most out of Nature—to grow foods, to find clothes, to raise fuel, to gain wealth. Owing to the ever increasing number of the Strugglers, the supplies fall short of the demands, with the result of perpetuating on the industrial plane, and often in hard and degrading forms, the primitive Struggle for Life. When society wonders at its labor troubles it forgets that Industry is a stage but one or two removes from the purely animal Struggle. And when morality impugns the Struggle for Life, it forgets that nearly the whole later fabric of civilization is its creation.

But one has only to look at these further phases of the Struggle to observe the most important fact of all—the change that passes over the principle as time goes on. Examine it on the higher levels as carefully as we have examined it on the lower, and though the crueler elements persist with fatal and appalling vigor, there are whole regions, and daily enlarging regions, where every animal feature is discredited, discouraged, or driven away. Already with the social tragedy still at its height around us, the amelioration in many directions makes constant progress; and partly through the rise

of opposing forces, and partly through the very civilization which it has helped to create, the maligner power must disappear.

The Struggle for Life, as life's dynamic, can never wholly cease. In the keenness of its energies, the splendor of its stimulus, its bracing effect on character, its wholesome tensions throughout the whole range of action, it must remain with us to the end. But in the virulence of its animal qualities it must surely pass away."

We have made this rather long quotation from Prof. Drummond's book because we believe that no consideration of this subject can be in any sense complete that does not take into account the conditions of life as here presented.

As Ruskin so well says, in his essay "Work", "Well, wise work is briefly work *with* God. Foolish work is work *against* God." If we would do anything of value in this world, we must bear in mind that we must work with God, and that we can only do this if we study His laws, and try to live and act in accordance with them. And if we have been convinced of anything by our study of this subject, it is that the law of struggle, of contest, has been written in the very constitution of things by the hand of the Creator!

CHAPTER II.

THE LESSONS OF HUMAN HISTORY.

"Wash the black from the Ethiop's face,
Wash the past out of man or race!"

LOWELL.

Some one has said that "a pound of fact is worth a ton of theory," and in dealing with human affairs in the present and in the future, it is certainly wise for us to consider seriously the facts of history.

In the preceding chapter we considered the development of man from his earliest days on the earth, and in this chapter we intend to look briefly at his history since then and down to the present time. The recorded history of mankind goes back some five or six thousand years, but the tendencies and traits of character that have in large degree influenced the actions of men during this historical period, have grown up through a vastly longer space of time when there was no record of human progress. In this prehistoric period, man made—we know not when or how—two most important discoveries that have had the greatest influence on all of his subsequent career, and that have

made modern civilization possible. The first of these discoveries was *fire*. No animal but man has ever built a fire to warm himself, or to cook his food, and this discovery has had a profound influence on all human history. Let us think for a moment of what we should be were it not for our power to use fire, and we can easily see that this discovery has made possible all that human society is today. Can we wonder that in past ages millions of men became fire-worshipers?

The second great discovery made by primitive man was *agriculture*. All the evidence we have tends to show that our earliest ancestors were nomads, that they lived almost entirely by hunting, and that their residence for the time being was chiefly determined by the question of where the hunting was best. Doubtless for many centuries these ancestors of ours lived in caves and holes in the ground, in fact anywhere that they could find temporary shelter from the elements. But the day came, when some man brighter than his fellows, hit upon the idea that he could live better by tilling a small plot of ground than by hunting alone. It is probable that for a long time these early tillers of the soil depended to quite an extent on the chase, and that their rude attempts at farming were rather sporadic. But a beginning had been made; man had found

that seed planted in the ground would grow, and henceforth he was no longer obliged to depend on killing game to live. To this discovery we owe all modern community life, whether it be in village, or in city, for it was the development of agriculture that has made human communities possible.

As in the case of fire, so also with farming; no animal except man has ever tilled the soil. It is on these two discoveries that all modern civilization rests, for it was by the use of fire that man was able to provide for himself weapons and tools of all sorts, and in course of time to develop manufactures; while it was owing to his discovery of planting seed that he has formed permanent dwelling places, and has by degrees, established education, the arts, and all the institutions of civilized life which could only grow up among a people who had some other means of existence than the chase.

That both these discoveries were due in the main to that law of struggle whose workings we have previously observed, cannot be doubted by any reasonable person, nor can we fail to see that without these, man must have remained to a large degree, a naked, wandering brute. The men who made these fundamental discoveries have left us no written records, and for centuries

they lived and fought and died, with only a few rude drawings on bits of bone, and only a few tools or weapons of stone or copper, that have come down to us bearing mute witness to their struggles. Nor do we know, with any degree of certainty, when or where the men who established communities, and who first used a written language, lived. Some historians think it was in Egypt, others in Mesopotamia, while still others think it may have been in China or in India. However this may be, we find that some thousands of years ago—perhaps five or six thousand—certain tribes of men more advanced in the arts than their fellows, established themselves in towns and cities which grew and flourished for generations, and from which definite records have come down to us, showing what manner of life they led, and giving us some idea of their history. These earliest records of civilized life were, for the most part, written on tablets of clay, and then baked, or they were cut on stone, and today in the British Museum, and in other museums, both in Europe and America, we may see these records of nations and civilizations that have long since passed away. As we look at these writings and sculptures of long ago, we are struck by one significant fact, that no matter whether they be of Assyria, Persia, Egypt, or other lands, the key-note of them all is warfare.

In by far the greater number of cases, the scenes depicted, and the records written, are of marches and battles. It is evident that fighting was then the chief business of thousands in all those countries, and that war was the chief inspiration of their arts.

When we turn to the Hebrew people, and read the records in the Old Testament, we find the same thing. Their kings were warriors, and their conceptions of Jehovah were in most instances those of a God of battle, whose aid against their foes they constantly invoked. The history of Israel for more than a thousand years prior to the Christian era, was a history of almost constant warfare with surrounding tribes.

The following quotations, taken from many of the same nature that appear in the Old Testament, give a vivid idea of warfare in those days. "And this is but a light thing in the sight of the Lord; He will deliver the Moabites also into your hand. And ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all wells of water, and mar every good piece of land with stones." II Kings chapter 3, 18-19.

"And when they came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them; but they went forward smiting the Moabites, even in their country.

And they beat down the cities, and on every good piece of land cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the wells of water, and felled all the good trees; only in Kirharaseth left they the stones thereof; howbeit the slingers went about it, and smote it." II Kings chapter 3, 24-25.

And in I Chronicles, chapter 5-18-23, we find this: "The sons of Rueben and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bows, and skilful in war, were four and forty thousand seven hundred and threescore, that went out to the war.

And they made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab.

And they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them; for they cried to God in the battle, and He was entreated of them; because they put their trust in him.

And they took away their cattle; of their camels fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand, and of men an hundred thousand.

For there fell down many slain, because the war was of God. And they dwelt in their steads until the captivity."

From these words, written perhaps three thousand years ago, we get the impression that when the ancient Hebrews went on the

warpath, they were not so very different from the soldiers of some so-called Christian nations of today.

Of course the Hebrews were but a small people, and their wars were on a small scale compared with those of many ancient peoples. If we turn from Palestine to Persia, Greece and Rome we shall get a better idea of what war was two or three thousand years ago. The mention of these countries brings to mind at once the names of those great generals of long ago, Cyrus, Alexander and Cæsar, who have left so deep a mark on the history of the world.

As to Greece, that small country combined a civilization and art such as the world has seldom seen, with a power of fighting that has aroused the admiration of all those who in every age are interested in the heroic defense of human rights. We have only to think of Sparta and of Thermophylæ to realize what the ancient Greeks were as fighters, and the campaigns of Alexander the Great will always be famous.

But it is when we turn to Rome that we get the conception of military power such as the world never saw, accompanied as it was by a civil administration that has excited the wonder of mankind. For wherever the Roman eagles went, there law and order, science and art, went also!

For some five centuries Rome was the mistress of the ancient world, and the saying

that "All roads lead to Rome" was indeed true. Probably the Romans in their best days were the greatest fighters that the world has ever known, and the tramp of the Roman legions was heard in all lands, north, south, east and west, but it was not alone her military power that made Rome great, it was because that power paved the way for the most effective civil administration that the world had up to that time known. Wherever her soldiers went, Roman customs, laws and the Roman language went with them to the uttermost parts of the then known world. Vast material works were everywhere undertaken; roads, bridges, aqueducts and splendid buildings were constructed in all lands where the power of Rome was established. Many of these works are still to be seen in various parts of Europe, for so well was the work done, for the most part by soldiers, under the direction of military engineers, that the lapse of twenty centuries has not destroyed them.

It is indeed hard to estimate how much the nations of today owe to the Romans, for a great part of our modern law is founded on theirs, and much of the language of several great nations is derived from the Latin.

It is easy to point out the many and grave faults of the Romans, but in spite of these the fact remains that modern civilization owes a vast debt to this nation of fighters and law-givers. Take away from us today all

that came to us through the Roman Empire, and we should be poor indeed.

And this leads us to observe a significant fact; viz., that throughout the history of the world, the nations that have stood in the vanguard of human progress, whether they be small or great, in ancient or in modern times, *have always been fighting peoples,* and as a rule, their contributions to civil, intellectual and moral progress have been in direct ratio to their military prowess. Nor can we conceive of any nation made up of people who are either unable or unwilling to fight, when great issues are at stake, as possessing any real influence for good in the march of human events.

The time may indeed come, when war as we know it shall be no more; but we may be very certain that the day will never dawn when the virtues that have been bred in the human soul, through thousands of years of struggle and conflict, will not be needed, and *imperatively needed,* in the future development of the race.

Nations, like individuals, have their periods of growth, maturity and decline, and about 300 A. D. the Roman Empire began to break up. Rome had conquered the world, but wealth, luxury and dissipation had gradually sapped the strength of the Roman people, and had destroyed their morale, so that when the barbarians came to

the gates of the "Eternal City" they found only a shell of what had been for centuries the greatest military power that the world had ever seen. The Roman legions had gradually been filled up with mercenaries, who had no real interest in maintaining their past glories, but whose chief desire was to get as much for themselves, with as little labor, as might be possible. Under these conditions, it is little wonder that Rome fell and that the fresh blood of the northern barbarians replaced the wornout manhood of the famous capital of the ancient world.

For several centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire, there was chaos in what is now the most civilized portion of Europe, for what is today France, Germany, Austria and England was then a region inhabited by semi-barbarous tribes who were constantly in a state of petty war among themselves. They had long been kept in a certain state of order and subjection by the strong hand of Rome, and now that that was removed, they quarreled among themselves, and made war on any weaker peoples from whom they might expect to get booty. But as generations passed, these semi-barbarous people in what is now France, Germany, Italy, Austria and England, gradually grew into some semblance of civilized nations, and developed a civilization in accord with their various racial characteristics.

So by slow degrees, the modern nations of Europe had their rise and though in a state of almost constant warfare with their neighbors, and often with bitter internal contests as well, they gradually evolved into the states that we know on the map of Europe today. For centuries, the history of these nations has been one of upward struggle and there is hardly a foot of soil in Europe that has not been fought over many times since the fall of Rome.

But though the many centuries that have passed since Rome fell have been full of bloody conflict, there has been constant growth as well; growth in material, intellectual and spiritual ways. In most of the chief countries of Europe, commerce, manufactures and the arts have been developed; schools and colleges have been founded; magnificent cathedrals and public buildings have been erected; many discoveries and inventions have been made; last but not least, governments have steadily grown more democratic, and the people have come more and more into control of their own affairs. Practically all of these changes have come about, in a large degree, as the result of war, and we note that in those nations where there has been the bitterest conflict, there has also been, as a rule, the highest form of development. In France and in Italy the arts have reached perhaps their high water

mark in modern life, while in Germany and in England commerce and manufactures have absorbed to a greater degree the energies of their people. Great Britain also has been the great colonizing power of modern times; her empire is already vastly greater than that of imperial Rome in her grandest days, and wherever the flag of England has gone, material progress of all sorts, education and justice have gone with it.

We will close this chapter with the words of one of the greatest critics and thinkers of modern times—John Ruskin. In his lecture on "War" we find these words: "For it is an assured truth that, whenever the faculties of men are at their fulness, they *must* express themselves by art; and to say that a state is without such expression, is to say that it is sunk from its proper level of manly nature. So that, when I tell you that war is the foundation of all the arts, I mean also that it is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men."

"It was very strange to me to discover this; and very dreadful—but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact. The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the *vices* of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, and of peace and plenty, and of peace and civilization; but I found that

those were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that, on her lips, the words were—peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and corruption, peace and death. I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace;—in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace."

CHAPTER III.

WAR AND RELIGION

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." MATT. X. 34.

"If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." ROM. XII, 18.

War and religion have ever been two great teachers of men; through countless ages they have learned the great lessons of life from both, nor have they yet finished their schooling under these two—the first grim and terrible, yet bearing, as we have seen, many of the most important gifts to mankind; the second thoughtful and noble in her bearing and having in her hands the gifts of the spirit and of eternal life.

But is the religious life always, or even usually, a life of peace on earth, or is it, in many cases, a life of conflict? Let us see. For more than a thousand years before Christ, the Hebrews had lived in Palestine, and among all the nations of that time, they excelled in the religious and spiritual life. As that great scholar and thinker, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, puts it in his book, "The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition," "The genius of the Hebrews, on the con-

trary, was essentially religious; its legitimate expression was devout aspiration, prophecy and psalm. Every monument which we possess of the intellectual life of that people is, in one way or another, directly or indirectly concerned with religion."

Such was the life of the Jews, and if we were to look for the reign of peace among any of the nations of antiquity we should surely expect to find it there. But alas! We find that almost the whole history of this remarkable people, as disclosed in the Old Testament, is one of continual strife and bloodshed.

When Christ was born, Palestine was a Roman province, ruled by a Roman governor, and with Roman soldiers constantly in contact with the people. It was into these conditions that Jesus came, and so far as we have been able to find out, he accepted them as the normal state of life, and in his conversations with the soldiers and others as recorded in the New Testament, he seems never to have expressly condemned war, nor those whose profession was fighting. He seems to have felt that his mission was a spiritual one, and he spoke of this on several occasions, when he refused to take any part in civil controversies. The incident of the tribute money was one of the most notable

of these, and furnishes us clear evidence that he had no intention to interfere with Roman authority, founded, as he well knew it was, on military force.

Again, in that remarkable tenth chapter of Matthew, where he gives the twelve apostles his instructions and advice, before sending them out into the world, we should expect to find, if anywhere, his position in regard to worldly reforms set forth. It is indeed in this very place that we find his words regarding peace, which we quote at the beginning of this chapter—words that put the matter so clearly that there can be no mistake on the part of his hearers, as to their meaning. With his clear vision, and his marvelous insight into the human heart, Christ saw plainly that his message could not result in any earthly peace at that period, and he no doubt felt that he should warn his disciples of that fact, ere they went out into the world to preach his gospel.

Paul also, in that wonderful twelfth chapter of Romans, sees the same truth, when he urges his friends that, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men."

Paul knew, as every wise man knows, that peace is not always possible, and that life, in a world like ours, must involve more or less of conflict.

Through all the centuries that have passed since Christ and Paul uttered these words, their truth has been proved by the common experience of mankind.

Great wars have come and gone, and some of the most bitter of these wars have been fought against each other, and because of different interpretations of the truth, by the so-called followers of Him whom they have often called the Prince of Peace. Thousands, yes tens of thousands, have died in battle because of these differences, and other thousands have been put to death in terrible persecutions that have been carried on in most of the countries of Europe by various groups of Christians. For nineteen hundred years the gospel of Christ has been preached on earth, but there is no peace yet; indeed war has grown if anything more terrible and destructive, as time has gone on, until today the nations of the earth are just emerging from the throes of the greatest war that the world has ever seen.

Such has been the history of Christian lands during the centuries, and if we look to non-Christian nations, we shall see the same conditions on a greater or less scale—everywhere we shall find that war and religion have existed side by side, but nowhere shall we find that religion has done away with war.

Not only this, but we shall learn that some six centuries after the birth of Christ,

a great religious leader was born in Arabia, whose followers now number more than two hundred millions in various parts of the earth, and whose religious principles have from the beginning been propagated by the sword. For many centuries the followers of Mahomet the Prophet have carried the Koran into various lands by force, and for more than two hundred years the wars of the Crusades were waged between them and the Christian peoples of Europe for the possession of Jerusalem. Even up to our own time, has this struggle between the followers of Christ and those of Mahomet continued, and there is no assurance that it is even now ended, for there are still many parts of the world where further conflict between the two religious systems is not merely possible, but seems, indeed, quite probable.

It is generally admitted by historians that some of the most bitter disagreements and conflicts that have occurred among men, have been caused either wholly, or in part, by differences over matters of religion. Speaking of this, George Washington wrote as follows: "Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes that the lightened and liberal policy, which has marked the present

age, would at least have reconciled *Christians* of every denomination so far, that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch as to endanger the peace of society."

So far as the past is concerned, we are obliged to admit that the direct efforts of the Christian Church toward abolishing war have been of little avail; nor can we see that any marked success is to be hoped for in the near future. So far as we are aware, out of all the various sects into which the Church of Christ is divided, only three or four small denominations have ever taken a decided position against war; of these the Society of Friends, usually called Quakers, have been the most determined in their opposition to it, but even in this sect, there have been those who thought that fighting was at times almost unavoidable. It is, indeed, a question whether any system of religion is in a position to take a very decided stand against the conflict of ideas which has so often resulted in war, and we are inclined to think, that whatever power the Church may have in this matter, must be exercised indirectly rather than through any specific action. We look upon all life as a process of education, and we are more and more convinced that the real mission of all r e l i g i o n, and especially that of the religion of Jesus, is to nour*ish and i n c r e a s e* the *spiritual life* of

man. No one can read the New Testament with any care, without perceiving that Christ himself was constantly insisting on this idea; that he always regarded himself as a teacher and revealer of spiritual truth rather than as a reformer in the ordinary sense of that word. It was in this spirit that he went about in Palestine; it was in this spirit that he sent his disciples forth to preach to the world, and it has been in this spirit that the most successful of his followers have always labored, in all ages, and in all denominations. In saying this, we are not unmindful of the fact that the Christian Church has done a vast and beneficent work in the world, aside from its field of spiritual teaching, but we nevertheless feel convinced that both in the past and in the future, its most important and fruitful work has been, and will continue to be, in the realm of spiritual education and development of mankind. We are, moreover, firmly convinced that it is through this work of moral and spiritual growth in man, that religion, and especially the Christian religion, can be of most effective service in the cause of lasting and universal peace. For it is as certain as anything human well can be, that any really permanent peace in this world must rest on a higher state of moral and spiritual development than has ever yet been attained by the bulk of mankind. We find that this fact has been generally recognized by the

deepest thinkers and the wisest statesmen of all ages, and by all those, no matter what their views may be as regards any particular religious tenets, who believe in the upward progress of humanity.

We believe that under conditions that have existed in the past, and that to a considerable extent still exist, some wars at least are not only unavoidable but are *morally justifiable.* We feel sure that because of these conditions which are inherent in human society, and are the result of ages of struggle in the past, there can be no short and easy road to universal peace. What is more, we may well make up our minds to the fact that wherever there is injustice, wherever there is abuse, wherever there is unrighteousness; *there* sooner or later will be war—not only will be, but *ought* to be war! For as Lowell says:

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light."

The more we read of history, the more we realize the truth of these lines, and as mankind moves onward, we and those who come after us will see that the great causes belong not alone to the past, but that they are here today and that they will be here tomorrow.

Let us close this chapter with the words

of Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, from his work, "The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition." "In the story of Cain it is shown that the right of property is established by force. That first step in civilization was achieved by conflict, and every succeeding step of deep and lasting import has been achieved in the same way. It is the method of history. If we cast but a glance along the tide of time we shall see that the one universal condition, if not the prime agent, of civil progress has been war. Not a step has society advanced which has not been contested with arms and purchased with blood. The civil and religious liberty we hold so dear, the right of private judgment, the right of self-government, the establishment of every important principle in civil legislation — with what conflicts and fightings and bloodshed these blessings have been secured! Periods of peace in the history of nations have been but armistices, brief temporary breathing spaces interposed in the stated, normal, secular war which began with Cain, and has raged in our day with unabated violence. Society advances from conflict to conflict. So it has been hitherto, and so it will be till the animal in man succumbs to the spiritual. It is the animal in man whence wars and fightings come, and though war has been a minister of progress, of spiritual progress as well as material, it is nevertheless, in its proper nature, carnal and

devilish. The fruit of the spirit is peace. War has been said to be a conflict of ideas. Say, rather, it is a conflict of interests with ideas, or with other interests. Passions war, ideas never. Pure spirit is incapable of passion, it can will no evil but only good. Its end is blessing, and its method love. If ever spirit gains the ascendency in human nature, acts of violence will become an impossibility, and war in all its kinds obsolete."

CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUSION

"Ring out old shapes of foul disease;
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold:
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand,
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be."

TENNYSON.

"Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

TENNYSON.

In the preceding pages we have briefly surveyed war from three points of view, viz., from that of biology, from that of human history, and from that of religion.

As a result of this examination, we have arrived at these conclusions, viz.: First, that struggle and conflict are to be found everywhere in Nature, and that they exist as a part of the Divine plan of the universe. Secondly, that throughout the thousands of years of human history war has been directly or indirectly the chief agent of man's progress, whether it be material, intellectual or spiritual; that in fact practically all the civil or religious rights and liberties that we enjoy today have been won in the past through bloody conflicts. Thirdly, that war has not

only been a necessary element in human progress, but that it is, in certain cases at least, morally justifiable, and that in such cases the highest ends of humanity could not have been attained without it.

So much for the past; but what of the present and the future? Is war still needed in the world, and will it be needed for a long time to come?

Poets and prophets in all ages have dreamed and written of peace; yet peace has still remained afar off, and we in our day have seen the greatest war of all history—one that has involved most of the nations of the earth, and that has shaken the civilization of Europe to its foundations. This being the case, we may well ask whether the great World War is indeed likely to be the last war that the world will see, or whether it will be followed by others that may be as terrible and costly as itself. Bearing in mind what took place in the summer of 1914, when the most earnest efforts were made to avert war — efforts which proved vain because the then rulers of Germany wanted war, and had decided that then was the time to start it—bearing this in mind, we say, how can we feel sure that at some future date the same thing may not occur again, and the world be plunged into a bloody conflict by the action of some ambitious nation or group of men who think they

see the chance to gain their ends by an appeal to arms! Is there any power in the world today that can give us full assurance that such a thing may not happen? The reply may be, that some association or League of Nations will be formed that can prevent such a conflict in the future, but we must remember that is as yet only a theory, an experiment, while war is *a historic fact.*

In this connection we may well give heed to what De Quincy says in his essay on "War": "And one thing is clear, that when all the causes of war, involving *manifest* injustice, are banished by the force of European opinion focally converged upon the subject, the range of war will be prodigiously circumscribed. . . . There is, besides, a distinct and separate cause of war, more fatal to the possibilities of peace in Europe than open injustice; and this cause being certainly in the hands of nations to deal with as they please, there is a tolerable certainty that a congress *sincerely* pacific would cut it up by the roots. . . . And this cause lies in the diplomacy of Europe. Treaties of peace are so constructed as almost always to sow the seeds of future wars."

Surely no student of European conditions and politics during the past century or more, would deny the truth of these remarks.

A League of Nations, long a dream in the

minds of a few poets and thinkers in the past, has now actually been formed, and is to a certain extent, working in Europe. As to its usefulness in helping to solve the problems of war and peace, Time alone can decide. It is indeed reasonable to suppose that a league or association of nations, having as a part of its organization a permanent international Court of Justice, might succeed in averting a certain proportion of wars that would otherwise occur. Some enthusiasts believe that such a league will prevent ninety per cent of wars, but we prefer to take a more modest view of its possible achievements in this direction. If it shall succeed in preventing even fifty per cent of future wars, it will have amply proved its right to exist, and will, indeed, have conferred a vast benefit on mankind.

We must, however, bear in mind the fact that there are tremendous difficulties in the way of any such international organization, and that under the best conditions it will require a long period of time to tell how far it can succeed in the task of bringing about peace on earth. Nor can we fail to observe that the degree to which it may succeed in its work must depend to a very great extent on these factors, viz.: First. On the character and ability of those who may be chosen to do the actual work of such a league, assembly or court; secondly, on the

sort of backing that these men shall receive from the people of their respective countries. For we may rest assured, that unless the majority of the people in the various nations represented are *earnestly* and *sincerely desirous* of peace, the utmost efforts of those who labor against war will be in vain. For whatever may have been the case hitherto, it is as certain as anything human can be, that in the future it will be the majority of the people in all lands who will, through their chosen representatives, decide the fatal question of peace or war.

Nor will it do for us to assume that any such organization can, in the near future, do away with the causes of war. These causes are very varied, but chief among them we may name the selfish ambitions, the passions and racial prejudices of men.

Man, as we have seen, has been a fighting animal from the start; the fighting spirit is still strong in him, and whenever the provocation is great enough, he is going to fight in the future as he has done in the past. Men have always fought for their property, their lives and their homes, and so long as they retain a spark of manhood, they always will fight for these, whenever and by whomsoever they shall be endangered.

It must be confessed that there are still outlaw and semi-barbarous nations in the world; for we class as such all nations who

are ready to break and throw aside their most solemn agreements and treaties, and to attack other peoples whenever they think it is for their own selfish interest to do so. Their creed is: "Might makes right," and they proceed to act upon it whenever they feel that there is anything to be gained by so doing. There is but one argument that appeals to these peoples; the argument of *superior force,* and that is the only thing that we can apply to them to uphold liberty and civilization against their assaults. To do otherwise in such cases, would be not only inexpedient, but also morally wrong; for their doctrine, "Might makes right," would, if carried out, destroy all the moral sense in the world.

Finally, it is our profound conviction that no real or lasting peace can ever be *manufactured;* but that it must be a *growth*—and a very slow growth—having its roots deeply sunk in the soil of *justice* and *righteousness;* not in one locality alone, nor among a single nation or race, but in all parts of the earth, and in the hearts of all peoples.

The assertion has been made by some writers on the subject, especially by the late M. de Bloch, that the material and intellectual progress of the world in modern times would prove a potent influence in favor of peace, but this theory does not seem to be supported by the facts.

During the past century the material progress of both the Old and New Worlds has been enormous; wonderful inventions of all kinds have been made, commerce and manufactures have grown by leaps and bounds, trade has extended all over the world, and the wealth of nations has increased at a rate never before known. But has this been an era of peace? Far from it, for during this period, some of the most bloody wars of history have been fought, and there have been but few nations that have not been involved in conflict on a greater or less scale. The economic fact that war has steadily grown more costly does not seem to have acted as a preventive, to any great degree.

Of all the nations of Europe, for a half century previous to the year 1914, there was none which had enjoyed a larger degree of material growth and of intellectual activity than Germany; her commerce, manufactures and national wealth had increased to a wonderful extent, and had she kept on in the paths of peace, we have every reason to believe that her commercial and intellectual progress would have continued for an indefinite period. But misled by a false philosophy of life, which put force in the place of justice and right, the German people had to a considerable extent, become morally and spiritually bankrupt before

they took that fatal step in the summer of 1914, which led to their downfall.

As we consider these facts in the light of history, we are more and more led to the conclusion that the real basis on which any permanent peace must be founded, is that so clearly set forth some three thousand years ago, by a Hebrew writer in these words: "Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance forever. And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places." Isaiah, chapter 32, 16-19.

It will doubtless require generations, perhaps centuries, before the nations of the earth come to realize the full meaning of these words, but when the time comes that they do, a new day will dawn for humanity —a day when peace will be established upon a sure and permanent foundation. It is toward this end that we must work; year in and year out; in all lands and among all peoples, great and small; gaining here a little, and there a little, undismayed by failure; pushing on through opposition and misunderstanding; working steadily, soberly, climbing ever upward toward the dawn of that new day!

In closing this chapter we wish to say a few words regarding the attitude of the American people toward this great question, for there is no doubt that the policy of America has, and will continue to have in the future, a very great influence in the affairs of the world.

In the first place the American people are a nation of peace-lovers; there can be no doubt of that in the minds of any who really know them.

Secondly, the American nation was born as the result of one war; it was born again in a union of States more firmly cemented together, as the result of another war—the greatest civil conflict in history. Altogether the people of the United States have fought no less than six wars in the course of the century and a half of their existence; five of these being with other nations, and in all of these conflicts they have been victorious, so that their military record is one of which they may justly be proud.

At the birth of this nation, and at the time of its re-birth, that is in the two greatest crises of its life, it has had two leaders, men of great qualities of both mind and soul—whose memory it will ever revere—Washington and Lincoln.

We feel that the American people will always give their earnest attention and thought to what these great leaders have

said regarding the problems of public policy which must ever come before a people who govern themselves. Especially in times like the present, when the question of the nation's foreign policy is uppermost, must we regard with the deepest interest what the "Father of his Country", had to say on the matter as the result of his experience in both war and peace. We here quote three or four sentences from the pen of Washington:

"Would to God the harmony of nations were an object that lay nearest to the hearts of sovereigns! * * * I pray devoutly that we may both witness, and that shortly, the return of peace. * * *

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. * * *

My policy has been to cultivate peace with all the world."

More than a century has passed since these words were written, but it is our firm belief that they represent the convictions of the great bulk of Americans today, and that the policy here set forth is not only just, but is in every sense the safest and wisest that any nation can adopt.

Let us now turn to the words of Lincoln, as written in his second inaugural address:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until the wealth piled by the bond-

man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and that every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Thus we see that Washington and Lincoln—our two greatest Americans—were in entire accord on the subject of peace; they both desired a lasting peace with all nations, based on justice and honor.

It is asserted by some writers and speakers that conditions of life have totally changed since Washington's time, and that for this reason his views on this question are no longer sound. To this we may reply that *external* conditions have indeed changed vastly; steam and electricity have made the world very much smaller in the past half-century, but the basic facts of human nature, and the principles of right and justice have remained the same, as they always will.

Today, the American people may indeed be confronted by new problems and conditions, but if we mistake not, they will seek to solve these along the same general lines that they have proceeded on in the past, and which have helped to make the greatness of America. Americans fully realize that all the rights and liberties that they enjoy have been won by labor and struggle in the past, and they are not disposed to surrender any of these in an attempt to try new experiments. The American people are not quitters, their history amply proves that; neither are they visionaries, but they are practical and before they embark on new enterprises and engagements, they wish to be sure that these are likely to have a fair degree of success, and that they will not endanger the foundations on which the Republic has stood hitherto.

America will, we feel sure, do her full duty in all her relations with other nations, and if in the future, liberty and civilization should be threatened again as they were in 1914, she can be counted on to do her part in their defense. But America insists that she shall decide for herself, in each particular case, just what her duty is, and she especially insists that whatever decision is made as to peace or war, shall be made at Washington, and not in some foreign capital. The American people have no illu-

sions, as regards war—they know by experience what it means, and if they must enter into it, they propose to do so with a full understanding of the reasons therefor, and after having counted the cost.

We are confident that the great majority of Americans do not wish to meddle in the internal affairs of other nations, and that they are quite determined that other nations shall not interfere with affairs that concern the United States.

The great strength of America's position lies in the fact that she does not covet the territory or possessions of any nation on earth; that she asks only for her fair share of the world's commerce, and for just and proper treatment of her citizens, in whatever part of the world they may be.

Americans realize that as Lowell says:

"They have rights who dare maintain them;" they are fully resolved that the rights which have been won for them in the past, at the cost of so much labor and sacrifice, shall be maintained in the future, even if it has to be done by the sword.

It will, we think, be generally admitted by those who are acquainted with the facts, that the American people are now facing the most momentous decision in their history since the beginning of the Civil War. The question of whether or not this nation shall ultimately enter into a league or asso-